

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ADP-00 SS-15 H-03 NSC-10 CIAE-00 PM-07

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15

TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 DODE-00 ACDA-19 AEC-11 EB-11

RSR-01 /150 W

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R 231810Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2721

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION GERLIN

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS UNN

USMISSION NATO

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 PARIS 22562

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, GW, MARR

SUBJECT: FRANCE'S EUROPEAN POLICY - THE GERMAN CONNECTION

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1. SUMMARY. FRENCH FEARS OF GERMANY, NEVER FAR FROM THE SURFACE OF THEIR THOUGHTS, HAVE SUDDENLY RE-EMERGED AS A MAIN AREA OF GOF CONCERN. GERMANY'S SUCCESSES IN OSTPOLITIK, FRANCE'S SUSPICION THAT A FUTURE FRG GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE PREPARED TO PURCHASE REUNIFICATION AT THE COST OF A NEUTRALIZED GERMANY, AND THE FRENCH PERCEPTION THAT US-USSR BILATERALISM IS DEPRIVING EUROPE OF ITS AMERICAN DEFENSES, COMBINE TO INTENSIFY FRANCE'S UNCERTAINTY OF THE FUTURE OF EUROPE. PSYCHOLOGICALLY AND POLITICALLY LOCKED INTO CONTRADICTORY POLICIES, PRESIDENT POMPIDOU WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO COME UP WITH THE NEW DIPLOMATIC PRESCRIPTIONS DEMANDED BY THE NEW ENVIRONMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. IN EMBASSY DISCUSSIONS WITH GOF OFFICIALS AND OTHER SOURCES, AND IN THE FRENCH PRESS OVER THE PAST MONTH (E.G., THE CHIRAC INTERVIEW IN LE POINT), WE HAVE DETECTED A GROWING CONCERN OVER THE CHALLENGES OF A RAPIDLY CHANGING EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENT, PARTICULARLY WITH REGARD TO THE FUTURE OF GERMANY.

3. NO ASPECT OF FOREIGN POLICY IS MORE CRUCIAL TO THE FRENCH THAN ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE FRG. PRACTICALLY ALL ASPECTS OF FRANCE'S EUROPEAN POLICY ARE, IN THE END, DOMINATED BY ONE GOAL: SEEKING TO MAINTAIN A VITAL LEVERAGE OVER GERMAN AFFAIRS.

4. THE ACCELERATED TRANSITION OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS IN THE ATLANTIC AREA (E.G., GERMAN PROGRESS IN OSTPOLITIK; US-USSR RAPPROCHEMENT) HAS LEFT THE FRENCH TENACIOUSLY PURSUING CONTRADICTORY POLICIES THAT NO LONGER SEEM ADEQUATE TO MEET THEIR FEARS OF GERMANY. THE GOF CONTINUES TO DEFEND ITS CONCEPTION OF A WESTERN EUROPE INDEPENDENT OF THE US (AND THE SOVIET UNION), BUT IT SUPPORTS THE RETENTION OF US TROOPS IN EUROPE (PARTICULARLY IN GERMANY) AND WELCOMES THE US NUCLEAR UMBRELLA, ALTHOUGH THE GOF INCREASINGLY QUESTIONS ITS RELIABILITY. IT PURSUES A VIGOROUS POLICY OF DETENTE WITH EASTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS AND THE SOVIET UNION, YET IT SEES IN THE FRG'S POLICY OF OSTPOLITIK A GROWING DANGER OF GERMAN NEUTRALITY. SIMILARLY, WHILE THE GOF PURSUES ITS OWN POLICIES OF DETENTE, IT FEARS THAT THE US-USSR RAPPROCHEMENT WEAKENS THE SECURITY OF EUROPE. IT CALLS FOR THE DEFINITION

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OF A EUROPEAN IDENTITY, BUT IT FREQUENTLY IMPEDES THE EFFORTS OF THE EC TO DEFINE THAT IDENTITY. IT POSES THE QUESTION OF EUROPEAN DEFENSE, BUT IT REFUSES TO COMMIT FRANCE TO A COOPERATIVE EUROPEAN DEFENSE ACTIVITIES. IT IS THE GROWING AWARENESS OF THESE CONTRADICTIONS AND AN INABILITY TO CHART THE NEW COURSES REQUIRED TO RESOLVE THEM THAT HAVE PRODUCED AN INCREASING SENSE OF PESSIMISM AND PARALYSIS IN THE GOF.

5. AS POLPIDOU SEEKS TO DEFINE FRENCH NATIONAL INTEREST WITHIN THESE INHERENTLY IRRECONCILABLE POLICIES, HE MUST OPERATE FROM THE PECULIARLY FRENCH PERCEPTION OF THE EUROPEAN ENVIRONMENT. SO LONG AS THE US AND USSR STOOD POISED AS POTENTIALLY HOSTILE POWERS, FRANCE COULD MANEUVER BETWEEN THEM, ALWAYS POINTED TOWARD ESTABLISHING A VITAL CONTROL OVER GERMANY. AS A COROLLARY, FRANCE ENJOYED A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE USSR AND THE EASTERN EUROPEAN STATES, AGAIN POINTED TOWARD SECURING ITS EASTERN FRONTIER. FINALLY, RECOGNIZING THAT FRANCO-GERMAN COMITY LIES AT THE HEART OF ANY PERMANENT EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT, THE 1963 DE GAULLE-ADENAUER TREATY WAS DESIGNED IN FRENCH EYES TO CEMENT GERMANY INTO WESTERN EUROPE (WITH FRANCE IN A COMMANDING POSITION).

6. THE 1972-1973 US-USSR SUMMIT MEETINGS, AND MOST DRA-
MATICALLY THE US-SOVIET AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, THE SALT TALKS AND MBFR, HAVE CONVINCED THE FRENCH THAT THEY HAVE LOST THE MANEUVER ROOM AFFORDED BY THE TENSIONS OF THE COLD WAR, THAT THEY ARE IN THE PROCESS OF LOSING THEIR STATUS AS A PRIVILEGED PARTNER OF THE SOVIET UNION, AND MOST IMPORTANT THAT THESE EVENTS ARE HELPING SET THE STAGE FOR AN EVENTUAL NEUTRALIZATION OF GERMANY.

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 SS-15 H-03 NSC-10 CIAE-00 PM-07

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15

TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 DODE-00 ACDA-19 AEC-11 EB-11

RSR-01 /152 W

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FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AXMBASSY COPENHAGEN 2176

AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK
4UFHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 8519
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION BERLIN
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS UNN
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7. SIMULTANEOUSLY, THE REMARKABLE SUCCESS OF THE FRG'S
OSPOLITIK PORTENDS A RESURGENCE OF GERMAN ECONOMIC AND POLI-
TICAL PENETRATION IN EASTERN EUROPE, WITH THE PROBABLE RESULT
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OF A WEAKENING OF FRENCH INFLUENCE IN THAT AREA. MOREOVER,
THE FRG FINDS ITSELF ECONOMICALLY STRONGER AND POLITICALLY MORE
SELF-CONFIDENT THAN IN 1963, WITH THE RESULT THAT THE FRANCO-
GERMAN TREATY NO LONGER SEEMS TO THE FRENCH TO BE AS EFFECTIVE
A LEVER ON THE FRG AS IT ONCE WAS.

8. AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THESE UNSETTLING DEVELOPMENTS,
THE FRENCH FEAR THAT THE GERMAN DYNAMIC FOR REUNIFICATION AND
ITS OSTPOLITIK MAY SET IN MOTION FORCES DIFFICULT TO CONTROL,
AT A TIME WHEN THE US SEEMS TO BE GRADUALLY DISENGAGING FROM
THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE. TAKING A PESSIMISTIC APPROACH (NOT
UNLIKE THAT OF CARSTENS AS REPORTED IN BONN 11726), PARIS IS
INCREASINGLY PREOCCUPIED WITH THE SPECTRE OF A NEUTRAL GERMANY,
AND SINE QUA NON -- FROM THE SOVIET STANDPOINT -- OF AN EVENTUAL
REUNIFICATION OF THE TWO GERMAN STATES.

9. SUCH A NEUTRAL GERMANY, REUNIFIED OR NOT, WOULD PLACE FRANCE
FACE TO FACE WITH A POTENTIALLY AGGRESSIVE SOVIET PRESENCE,
DEPRIVED OF THE WESTERN-ORIENTED GERMAN BUFFER. AT
THE VERY LEAST, A NEUTRAL GERMANY OPEN TO SOVIET POLITICAL IF NOT
MILITARY PENETRATION WOULD INTENSIFY FRENCH SECURITY FEARS.
SUCH A DEVELOPMENT WOULD ALSO CRIPPLE, PERHAPS PERMANENTLY,
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

10. AS PRESIDENT POMPIDOU PREPARES FOR THE FALL RENTREE, WITH
ITS CONVERGENCE OF INTERNATIONAL NEGOTIATIONS VITAL TO FRANCE,

HE IS PREOCCUPIED WITH THREE FUNDAMENTAL AND INTERRELATED QUESTIONS: A) HOW TO ANCHOR THE FRG SECURELY WITHIN WESTERN EUROPE; B) HOW TO ADVANCE EUROPEAN UNION ACCORDING TO FRENCH SPECIFICATIONS; AND C) HOW TO MAINTAIN THE US SECURITY COMMITMENT TO EUROPE. A DIE-HARD FRENCH ATTITUDE ON THE CAP HARLY SEEMS DESTINED TO ACHIEVE THE FIRST OBJECTIVE, ESPECIALLY WITH THE FRG INCREASINGLY UNABLE TO SEE ANY SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS IN EC UNIFICATION WORTH THE PRICE OF ITS FOUR MILLION MARK DAILY SUPPORT FOR THE CAP. ON THE OTHER HAND, FRENCH OFFICIALS RECOGNIZE THAT EUROPEAN UNION CANNOT BE REALIZED WITH AN INCREASINGLY DISLOCATED FRG. THE QUESTION -- PUT SIMPLY -- IS WHETHER FRANCE IS WILLING TO COMPROMISE ON ITS NOTION OF EUROPEAN UNION AND GIVE UP THE AMOUNT OF SOVEREIGNTY REQUIRED TO BUILD UP THE COMMUNITY TO THE POINT WHERE IT CAN ENGAGE VITAL GERMAN INTERESTS.

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11. AS REGARDS THEIR NATIONAL SECURITY, THE FRENCH ARE DEEPLY TROUBLED BY WHAT THEY CONSTRUCT TO BE EVIDENCE OF US-SOVIET COMPROMISE, IF NOT OUTRIGHT US DISENGAGEMENT. IN BUILDING A STRUCTURE FOR PEACE, THE US, THE FRENCH BELIEVE, IS HAMSTRINGING ITSELF WITH PROCEDURES THAT WOULD SEVERELY LIMIT ITS ABILITY TO ACT DECISIVELY IN A CRUNCH. SEEN IN THIS OPTIC, THE AGREEMENT ON THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR IS DESCRIBED BY SOME FRENCH AS MERELY A US-SOVIET NON-AGGRESSION PACT. THE MOST DANGEROUS DEVELOPMENT, IN FRENCH EYES, HOWEVER, IS MBFR, FOR THE SPECIAL ZONE TO BE CREATED IN CENTRAL EUROPE CAN ONLY EASE THE WAY TO GERMAN NEUTRALIZATION.

12. COMMENT: WHILE THE CURRENT FRENCH SPOTLIGHT ON DANGERS OF POSSIBLE FRG SLIPPAGE TOWARD NEUTRALITY MAY BE LARGELY MOTIVATED BY FRENCH DESIRE TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE FRG TO TIE THE LINE ON THE CAP AND TO WARN THE GERMANS OF THE DEPTH OF FRENCH CONCERN OVER THE FUTURE OF OSTPOLITIK, IT DOES ILLUSTRATE THE FUNDAMENTAL INCONSISTENCY OF FRENCH EUROPEAN POLICY: ITS LIP-SERVICE TO POLICIES OF "EUROPEANISM" CONTRASTED WITH

ITS PRACTICAL OPPOSITION TO ACHIEVING THAT "EUROPEANISM." THE ANSWER BEST DESIGNED TO QUIET FRANCE'S CONCERNS OVER THE FUTURE OF GERMANY AND ITS PERCEPTION OF A DECREASING COMMITMENT OF THE US TO THE DEFENSE OF EUROPE -- GENUINE AND SPEEDY MOVEMENT ALONG THE ROAD OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION -- IT LIKELY TO REMAIN UNATTRACTIVE TO PRESIDENT POMPIDOU. WE ANTICIPATE, THEREFORE, A FURTHER DEEPENING OF FRANCE'S FEARS AND A GROWING FRUSTRATION OVER THE COURSE OF EVENTS IN EUROPE.

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